572 times assist each other in work, sometimes hunt together, and enjoy each other's conversation and company.

572 621 Friendship is, however, a factor in the formation and stability of the settlement. Thus, Cook's original presence in Sawari was due to his friendship with Miller. A weakening of that relation gave rise to Cook's removal of his residence away from the near vicinity of Miller, the gathering of a group of families around him, and to the eventual rift between the two clearings. John's presence in Cook's settlement evidently is due simply to mutual liking on the parts of the two men. Edwin has a close friend named William in the settlement of Kurewa, and this friendship is doubtless to some extent responsible for the intermediate position which Edwin's family enjoys in the social life of Sawari.

I found no evidence that the friendships between women had any dynamic effect on social groupings in this settlement. Women's friends here, as elsewhere on the Barama, are the result of residence or contiguity determined by other factors.

• 561 **Age and Sex.** Well defined age groups are not present in Carib society. Girls are secluded at their first menstruation and are exhorted on the duties and conduct becoming to an adult woman by their older female relatives at this time, but without ceremony. This is the only special recognition taken of age changes. Nevertheless, as among all societies which do not formalize the age boundaries, informal recognition is taken of children, youths, adults, and old people.

895 583 Although not stated in so many words, an individual is not considered a full-fledged member of society until he is married. For instance, an underlying conception of this sort seems to motivate the proof of adulthood which is required of a man before the first marriage, and which takes the form of tests of fitness. (This seems at least as large a factor in the housebuilding, field-cutting, and hunting requirements demanded from the groom by his father-in-law as the factor of payment for the bride. Such tests are not required of a man at his subsequent marriages.) A woman's ability to care for a house and field, which is proven to the community after marriage, is apparently demanded before she is accepted as a full-fledged member of the female community. Also, both sexes assume certain responsibilities toward each other and toward the community at marriage (self-sustenance for their

000 household context is reflected in the kinship system.

Kinship

*177 601 Persistence and change in elements of the kinship system are in keeping with changes in household composition and relationships among households. The kinship system in use during Gillin's field work is reported in Figures 14 and 15. Figures 16 and 17 present the kinship system in use during 1970-71. Table 13 compiles the Carib terms used by males; Table 14, those used by females.

601 Basically, this is a cognatic system with Iroquoian features. Categories of individuals in three middle generations, ego's and the immediate ascending and descending generations are identified. Aspects of bifurcate merging are evident in all three of these generations. The terminology extends one more generation in each direction. However, all individuals in the categories grandmother, grandfather, and grandchild are socially identical. There is no further lineal extensions. Although Gillin entertains the possibility (1936:90-98), there is no premise for sib or clan organization. Rather, this is a particularly egocentric kinship system. Its major purpose appears to be the categorization of people for each individual. A person's sex and age affect the manner in which related individuals are designated, and the changes in the system of categorization reflect shifts in the patterns of interaction among categories of people.

[114] [614] [618] [561]

175 601 The kinship system as reported by Gillin is one particularly suited to operating among a relatively small, endogamous population

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 130]

merged as one category. With the economic isolation of households, these people are no longer living and working together. The replacement of individuals in these categories no longer appears to be a compelling demand of the organization for subsistence. Mortality has been greatly reduced by medical programs and external subsistence resources. Divorce now tends to occur only as a casual event among very young couples. Consequently, no current data on the practice of the levirate and the sororate is available. Sororal polygyny does occur. Among the established marriages among the Air Strip population, there are thirty-eight monogamous unions. Of the sixteen plural marriages consisting of a man and two wives, twelve are cases of sororal polygyny. There are two groups of a man and three wives. In one case, two of the wives are sisters. In such families, the children tend to continue to call their mother's sister "mother."

The replacement of broad generational bonds with more circumscribed trans-generational bonds is evident in the separate designation of the individuals in the first ascending generation. It is also apparent in ego's generation. For the male ego, mother's sister's son, whether or not he is a half sibling, is placed among the three middle generations depending on his age relative to ego. If this person is older, even a year or so, he is designated mother's brother.[9] If he is about the same age or a little younger, he is called little brother. An individual in this relationship who is a year or more younger is called nephew. The kinship categories for independent and dependent partners in the relationship between ego and mother's sister's son are provided. Previously, associational ties existed

*177 601 • 561 between these two categories of individuals, and they were socially identical as siblings. Also, there is more evidence for the separation of siblings from parallel cousins. The female ego tends to reserve the term k'amicho to designate younger parallel cousins of both sexes. This term is rarely used to designate siblings. Also, a few men reserve the term yopoko to refer exclusively to their older sister. A fuller differentiation of siblings and parallel cousins has not yet emerged.

*177 601 This separation of the kinship identities of members of the nuclear family from collateral kin is also evident in the first descending generation. For both male and female egos, the term yemuje tends to be reserved for actual daughter; the term yemueale, for other categorical daughters. For male ego, the term emülü tends to be reserved for actual son; po'chole, for categorical sons. For female ego, the term ë'më tends to be used for actual son; po'chole, for categorical sons. In addition, both male and female egos use the term po'chole for a younger brother. This merging is an exception to the pattern of emerging separate identities for the collateral kin that were previously equated with members of the nuclear family.

*177 601 582 Marriageable categories for both males and females are now more limited. However, with the larger, centralized population, there are more individuals in these categories. Females now have marriageable partners in their generation and the first ascending generation. Those in the first descending generation have been eliminated.[10] Mother's brother and cross cousin remain marriageable and are merged in a single category. Among the three terms used by a female to